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Lessons of the Three Days in August

by Murray N. Rothbard

The shattering and glorious events of the three-day coup and of the week of August 18-21 are destined to go down in history. At long last, at the end of a century it helped to drench in blood, the fateful and disastrous Bolshevik Revolution has been reversed, unforgettably symbolized by the pulling down of Lenin statues, the waving of the pre-Soviet Russian tricolor, and especially by the tearing down of the mighty statue of "Iron Feliks" Dzerzinski, founder of the malignant Cheka/KGB. Even the Soviet colossus itself, the Soviet "center" and heir to the Czarist Russian Empire, is unraveling and disintegrating before our eyes into its constituent republics and nationalities. The fall of Communism in Eastern Europe was historic and magnificent, but still the heartland of world Communism, the Soviet Union, remained intact, though shaky. But now, with the great Soviet Revolution of 1991, that too is gone. At least one Evil Empire in the world is finished.

Amidst our well-deserved joy, however, there are some lessons that we must learn and heed, to take the fullest advantage of the Revolution.

1. **Ideas Trump Guns.** Once again, the great lesson of political theory, first enunciated by the mid-16th century French libertarian Etienne de la Boetie, then repeated by David Hume two centuries later and by Ludwig von Mises in the twentieth century, has been gloriously confirmed: In the long run, ideas, not force, rule. Since the government is necessarily a minority ruling class in the population, it cannot win a contest of force with the majority. No matter how despotic or dictatorial, no government can last for long unless supported by the majority of the public. That consent need not be enthusiastic; but it must be there. But how about the guns? Well, we saw what happened during the Three Days of August that Shook the

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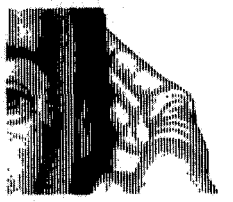

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

To those few LPers who are hysterically attacking the idea of Ron Paul running for President on the Republican ticket, I have one question: why are you being so all-fired NEGATIVE?

* * * * *

At the end of 1990, Marshall ("The Boomer") Fritz left his Advocates for Self-Government, after many years of effort, to ride off into the wild blue yonder in pursuit of a new scheme: franchising private schools. Marshall turned over the presidency of the Advocates to Carole Ann

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(THE EAR cont. from P.1)

Rand, on the theory that while Marshall is the sort of idea guy to start new organizations (a "start" of many years), Carole is the sort of person to take the idea into an era of sustained growth.

But now Carole reports that, alas, alack!, the sustained growth in the first half of 1991—the first six months of her reign—was *minus* 43 percent! According to Carole's letter, it seems that if she fails, it's *our* fault for not sending her enough shekels! She asks us to look at her 6 month record (of a 43 percent drop in revenue, that is) and *believe* in her; she believes in *us* so much, she writes, that she's gone a month without a paycheck, and she drew the money to send out the letter from her and her poor husband Ken's savings.

Bill Buckley learns about the LP.

Sure I believe in you, Carole baby: I believe you're a loser. [It might have helped us a bit to believe in your professionalism if you had at least dated your letter.] Ken, save your money.

* * * * *

In his widely syndicated column, Bill Buckley wrote that he was saddened "to read in *Human Events* magazine the account of the Libertarian Party convention in Chicago on Labor Day weekend." The "libertarian designation is a proud fixture in the American political tradition. To judge from the report by Jeffrey Tucker, you would think the organizers of the convention had conspired to discredit the anti-statist philosophy."

"One delegate" was "Al Goldstein. He is the pornographer who publishes *Screw* magazine." Because he was "prosecuted under the obscenity laws in the early 1970s, he advised the convention that the United States was a 'police state' comparable to the Soviet Union." "People who will sit still" for that finding must be seeking to appeal to "immature voters and 'pre-voters.'" Maybe that's why the LP platform comes "out against age-of-sexual consent laws and against restrictions on child pornography."

"The party's candidate" is Andre Marrou, an "inactive real estate broker from Las Vegas. Perhaps he is inactive because he is out of touch. He explained to the delegates proudly that he spent two years living in the Alaska wilderness, 'where he learned self-sufficient living.'"

The case for legalizing drugs is "empirically very strong," but the "convention, with the aid of LSD advocate Timothy Leary, sometimes appeared to resemble a pro-drug rally." Their "belief in free movement has metastasized into a belief in repealing all immigration laws." "Those Americans who inherit a hearty predisposition for libertarian, anti-statist policies have many burdens to bear," including "the federal government" and the "Libertarian Party."

* * * * *

In a hilarous article on the same event, the *Harvard Crimson* described Andre Marrou as a "Lenin look-alike." The *Crimson* also reported on Andre's speech to Timothy Leary's drug rally. Andre's final line was: "Toke up"!

* * * * *

Karl Hess, who preached universal love and space travel at the LP convention, nominated his buddy Andre Marrou for president. Karl was a convention delegate, but since he *doesn't believe in political parties*, he couldn't vote for Andre!

* * * * *

Mary Gingell celebrated her election as chairwoman of the LP by dumping hubby #2, Bill Evers, for #3, a Coconut Grove, Florida, liberty lover.

* * * * *

Gingell-ling's goal for years has been the Pinnacle of Power, the chairwomanship of the Libertarian Party. So she latches on to the very smart Bill Evers, who knows everyone and everything in the LP. After years of maneuvering, Bill gets her the vice-chairmanship, and then the pinnacleship. The *minute* she achieves this post, she discards Bill as no longer useful to her, and moves on to the next sucker.

* * * * *

Conservative hero and scholar Mel Bradford had a commissioned book review thrown back in his face by *National Review*. All the senior

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editors, except Jeff Hart, voted to reject the piece because it criticized St. Abraham Lincoln, the statist mass-murderer and railroad lobbyist who occupies the neocon pantheon along with statist mass-murderer and college prexie Woodrow Wilson, and the promiscuous pinko St. Martin Luther King.

* * * * *

"Tell the Ear," a conservative D.C. think-tanker whispered to a friend of mine, "that the LP's 'Liberty Unchained' logo looks like a man in drag."

* * * * *

As the Ear has reported before, State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler and her boss James Baker are "close friends." Now comes word that when they travel together, his standing orders require a single red rose to be placed on her pillow each night, and that they have connecting rooms. Unless, that is, *Mrs.* Baker is traveling as well.

* * * * *

The Kochtopus opposes Ron Paul for President, with Howie Rich calling Ron "worse than Pat Buchanan." Sounds like a pretty good qualification to me!

Instead, Ed Crane and Dave Boaz are supporting Doug Wilder! Ed used to describe himself as a "low-tax liberal," but even though Wilder is at best a medium-tax liberal, his left-wing social views endear him to the boys.

* * * * *

In his latest fundraising letter, LP national director Nick Dunbar trumpets the 11,000 phone messages the LP got on its 800 number as a result of C-SPAN's convention coverage.

An impressive number, but the LP had the phones answered not by people, but by rickety machines that cut off after 20 seconds. Many times, thanks to malfunctions, the chintzy devices took no message whatsoever. The result: less than 1,000 actual names and addresses out of 11,000 calls.

* * * * *

OK, that's it, I'm coming out of the closet. Inspired by Marilyn van Derbur, Roseanne Barr Arnold, and Baldy O'Connor, I've decided to inflict my personal pain on you readers out there, and thereby *help you* through yours. (Huh?)

I confess: it hurts me to say this, but I am not an Incest Victim.

And so I confess: it hurts me to say this, but I am *not* an Incest Victim. My parents did not abuse me, either physically or sexually. And what's more, taking a poll of our shop here, I don't know anyone who is an Incest Victim, and I don't know anyone who *knows anyone* who is an Incest Victim.

So: if there are only Six Degrees of Separation between everyone in the country, where are all these "millions of incest victims" we've been hearing about? So what's next: affirmative action quotas for all Incest Victims? Do they go to the head of the waiting list for public housing? Or what?

Of course, considering that most of these celeb Victims took several decades to *remember* that they were Victims, and considering that it took some Therapist to *get* them to remember, maybe we're *all* Incest Victims and don't know it—and all we have to do is to go to our Friendly Neighborhood Shrink and learn about it, so we too can go on TV and denounce our parents, flog our slipping careers, and make a Million Zillion bucks.

* * * * *

Edward Durell, who hated the Federal Reserve and loved the gold standard, left his fortune to advance these ideas. But under the direction of a bizarre ex-bureaucrat, his foundation spent its money on fiat paper-money, fractional-reserve "free-banking." The Ear doesn't know just what happened, but the guy is now out on *his* ear. Who says there's no justice in this world?●

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(Lessons...cont. from P.1)

World. Soldiers may have guns, but will they shoot? And if they do shoot, at whom will their guns be pointing? In the last analysis, the answer is a matter of will, and of the ideas ruling in the hearts and minds of the soldiers.

When the Soviet tanks rolled into Moscow to take over the Russian Parliament Building, they were met by ordinary Muscovites with linked hands, by people's barricades, and by middle-aged women, shouting: "Soldiers! Don't Shoot Your Mothers!" Promptly those soldiers and those tanks defected to guard the Parliament building instead of attacking it; their guns were henceforth pointed outward. And when, on Tuesday night, the KGB ordered its crack anti-terrorist Alpha squad to storm the Parliament Building, the dread KGB all lay down on the floor of their barracks and refused to budge. Again: it was the magnificent and unforgettable image of Boris Yeltsin climbing atop one of those defecting tanks to shout defiance at the Soviet putschists that played a large role in bringing the coup to an end. What is all this but a vibrant demonstration of the governing power of ideas, and, in the last analysis, that ideas trump guns?

One feature that made the coup days of August more powerful than the 1989 revolution is that, in Eastern Europe, much of the revulsion against Communism was intertwined with a revulsion against the imperial Russian occupiers. So that the ideas that triumphed in 1989 were a blend of freedom and anti-Communism, with a national liberation struggle against Russian imperialism. But now, in Moscow, Leningrad and other parts of Russia, this anti-imperialist element was absent (though of course present in the other republics). The ruling ideology among the Russian people was purely anti-Communist and anti-statist, in fierce opposition to the Russians' "own" State.

The ruling ideology among the Russian people was purely anti-Communist and anti-statist, in fierce opposition to the Russians' "own" State.

2. **Ideas Trump Cost-Benefit Analysis.** Economists in general, and public-choicers in particular, refuse to acknowledge that ideology, or indeed any ideas, play any role in motivating human action. It is all economic self-interest, they claim, based on narrow cost-benefit calculations. Public choice economists have never been able to figure out, as a result, why any revolution has ever been successful: After all, the benefits of revolution are diffused throughout the nation, whereas the costs, in life and limb as well as resources, are expended by a small minority of revolutionary cadre. So how could any revolutionaries have ever won?

But here, in the Three Days, Yeltsin and his band stood in and around the Parliament Building in Moscow, expecting that the blow would strike at any moment, and that they would be crushed. Why did they stay there? What could they get out of it? Why weren't they home, snug-a-bed like the rest of us, watching the Revolution on CNN, or at least listening on BBC? Why indeed? Because they were, each one of them in their own way, genuine heroes, putting their Lives, their Fortunes, and their Sacred Honor on the line for ideas, for the ideas of freedom against despotism. Public choicers are Economic Imperialists; that is, they claim to be able to explain (and predict) all human action on the basis of economic cost-benefit considerations. Well, fellas, try to put the actions of the thousands of Muscovites in those few crucial days in your public-choice pipe and try to smoke it, and when you've figured it all out, come back again, but not a moment before.

3. **Ideas Trump Tradition.** We've heard it for many years,

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and from all sides: left, right and center. But mostly we heard it from embittered Russian emigres (*e.g.* Alexander Yanov, in his *Origins of Autocracy*). We heard that the Russian people were hopeless, that they had no tradition of liberty, that they were the sort of people who liked to obey autocratic rule, that the Russian either wanted to wield the whip or submit to it.

And indeed these Russophobes made a plausible case—if one did not believe that all people yearned, down deep, for freedom. Classical liberalism did not loom large in Russian history: there were only the short-lived Decembrist rebels who were crushed in the 1820s, and the brief era of the Stolypin reforms after 1905. Not much tradition to build on. And Yanov insisted that the Russian people set themselves on an irreversibly hellish path when Czar Ivan the Terrible massacred nascent capitalists and merchants, and reenserfed the Russian peasantry in the mid-16th century. Lenin and Stalin, wrote Yanov, were simply heirs of Ivan the Terrible: they *were* Russia.

Well, in the three days of August, the Muscovites, in effect, said Boo! to Ivan the Terrible, to Yanov, and to all the rest of the bogeymen they had been saddled with. The Russian people struck a mighty blow for the power of ideas, surmounting even tradition, and, of course, for the concrete living power of the idea of liberty.

4. **High-Tech Means Freedom**. Many conservatives and other opponents of despotism have worried about the march of modern technology. Doesn't high-tech ineluctably mean despotism? Won't the central government plan each of our lives to the hilt using high-speed computers, television, etc.? Look at how high-tech permitted a monstrous totalitarianism in *1984*! Again, the concern was plausible. But Orwell and the other worriers about high-tech tyranny were wrong. For two basic reasons. First, because socialism can't work well enough to allow high-tech to function. Remarkably, in an era when socialists in the West were writing that socialist governments could plan easily by using computers, the socialist planners themselves found that it was impossible, and that they couldn't even afford to buy or build these computers to find out. And secondly, the nature of much modern technology makes for decentralization and for wide dissemination of information—precisely what despotism can't allow. Even if people could afford it, how could a communist government permit people to own their own copy machines, much less personal computers or fax machines? And we saw that one of the reasons the masses won out over the coup was the remarkably rapid spread of information among the resisters and among the people in general, in the Soviet Union and throughout the world: the whole world watched on CNN, radio and fax machines were spreading information like wildfire, there was no way the putschists could bring back the bad old days of Stalin.

And now if we could only figure out how to avoid the media becoming stooges of Pentagon misinformation, as they did in the Gulf War!

5. **Not "Democracy," but Freedom and National Independence**. The Soviet reformers know what they're against: Communism, collectivism, and Russian imperialism. But what are they for? No one can expect them to spell it out immediately; this was a spontaneous uprising from below, a genuine "people's revolution," and no one sat down in a room to plan the program. So right now the reformers are groping toward a post-socialist, post-Soviet world. The reformers *call* what they want "democracy"; it's all over the place: "Democratic Party," "Democratic Movement," etc. But one has the feeling that they don't know what "democracy" is supposed to mean, that they have taken the word as a slogan from its ubiquitous presence in the Western media.

Hey: but if "democracy" means anything, surely it means elections. Soon after the failure of the coup, all over Western TV came a certain Professor Allen Weinstein, head of something called the Center for Democracy in Washington, who is clearly spending his time jetting back and forth between Washing-

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ton and the various capitals of the Soviet republics, apparently running the show everywhere, including Washington. But what I want to know is: for all his prattle about "democracy," who ever elected Weinstein to anything, in any country? So how come he's in the saddle?

In the days before the neo-con takeover, everyone on the Right, including libertarians, was very clear about democracy. Democracy meant elections, it meant a process, and it had little or nothing to do with the *results* of that process. Other things being equal, it's better to have elections than a self-perpetuating oligarchy in power. But what do you do if *elections* perpetuate the oligarchy, as is increasingly happening in the U.S.? (How many decades will it take for us to have a Republican Congress *and* a Democratic President?) And wouldn't it be better to have term-limitations everywhere, in all branches of government, and thereby impose severe limits on those democratic elections? Just as we do when we observe the Bill of Rights?

But now the neo-cons have stuck us with "democracy" as a package deal, including all sorts of incongruous and even contradictory notions, including majority rule, rights of minorities, an "efficient" welfare state, the U.S. as world policeman and democracy-imposer, and amidst it all, various unelected Centers and Foundations and Institutes for Democracy giving all the directions.

This is a particularly difficult lesson for buttinski Americans to learn: *They've got to sort it out themselves.*

But that's not what the Soviet people want. What they want, despite the confusion and rapid change, should be fairly clear for those who are willing to see. First, they want freedom: freedom to speak, freedom to publish and read, freedom to worship, freedom of the media, freedom of protest and assembly. And yes, they want free markets and private property. And of course they want a vast rollback of government power: of the Communist Party, the KGB, and all the other organs of despotism. And finally and not least important, they want national independence, freedom from Russian or Soviet imperialism, for the various nationalities: for Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan, and all the rest. And the Moldavian Republic, now renamed Moldova, wants—after Romania has decommunized itself sufficiently—to rejoin its fellow Romanians, for it was yanked from Romania by Stalin after World War II.

The Bush Administration, of course, has been notoriously behind the learning curve on national independence for the republics. First, shortly before the coup, George Bush traveled to Ukraine to make his infamous and false attack on Ukrainian nationalism as suffering from ethnic bigotry. It is certainly possible that this blatant support for Soviet imperialism encouraged the "coup plotters" to make their strike, expecting the Bush Administration to look the other way. And, as we know, Bush dragged his heels on recognizing the independence of the heroic Baltic states. In every case, he eventually came around, but dragging his feet, impelled by the force of history and by the tremendous momentum for freedom and national self-determination. And even by the end, when it looked as if—gloriously—the entire Soviet Union might dissolve, Bush rushed in to help Gorby, and even Yeltsin, save the "center." For it seems that superpower leaders such as Bush can't stand the idea of facing, and dealing with, a whole bunch of new republics. My God, who is George supposed to call up when he wants to shmooze? Boris Yeltsin, too, was only welcomed late and very grudgingly. Bush seems to be permanently bewildered that his good buddy Gorby has a far lower popularity rating in the Soviet Union than he does in Washington, D.C.

Of course, the independent or quasi-independent nationalities are going to have

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problems among themselves, but the point is, and this is a particularly difficult lesson for buttinski Americans to learn: *They've got to sort it out themselves.* The Georgians want independence. Great! But their president, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, has replaced Communism with his own family-despotism and Gamsakhurdian Socialism? Terrible, but we have got to let the Georgians handle it themselves. The worst thing is for the United States, or the World, or the United States in the name of the World, to rush to decide in every dispute who the Good Guys are, and the Bad Guys, and then zap the Baddies. Let them work it out!

Within Georgia itself, for example, there are other grave systemic problems, aside from their present ruler. The Abkhazians, in northwest Georgia, have been oppressed by the Georgians, whom they hate, for generations. Shouldn't they be able to gain their independence? And how about the heroic South Ossetians, an enclave oppressed inside Georgia, who want nothing more than to join their brethren in North Ossetia? Good; I'm all for them. I yearn for the Abkhazians and the Southern Ossetians to achieve justice, throw off the Georgian yoke and breathe free. If I had the opportunity, I might even send people-to-people aid to the oppressed Abkhazians and Southern Ossetians, and if I were younger and more foolish, I might even join a South Ossetian International Brigade.

But let the governments of the U.S. and the world leave them be!

The correct path in inter-ethnic, inter-republic dispute was blazed recently by the ditherers of the European Community. When faced with the vicious aggression against the Croats by the rotten imperialist Serb-dominated Yugoslav army, what did the distinguished European gentlemen do? Riven by different views and factions and nations, they all expressed their sympathy and moral solidarity with the beleaguered and heroic Croats, and did ... nothing! Good. Third-party governments staying out sets a superb precedent, itself trumping, and one hopes quietly putting an end to, Bush's New World Order. For after all, the EC is supposed to be the European subset of the New World Order, and given their first case to use their might and fix the peace, decide border disputes and generally crack heads, they wisely if not very nobly decided to opt out. Let's hope that the New World Order follows the same path.

The correct path in inter-ethnic, inter-republic disputes was blazed recently by the European Community.

One hopes, of course, that all these nationalities will sort it out, and come to the same solution that the Baltic states did with their sizable Russian ethnic minorities: no voting rights, but guaranteed human and property rights from the majority ethnic nationalities. But if they don't reach such a solution, the best thing the rest of us can do is follow that excellent injunction: "Don't Just Do Something! Stand There!" In other words, *laissez-faire.*

It would be wonderful if we could resurrect the spirit, and the foreign policy, of the great "isolationist" and paleo-libertarian Canon Sydney Smith. In 1832, Smith wrote the following letter to Lady Grey, wife of the English Prime Minister—a timeless letter even more relevant now:

"For God's sake, do not drag me into another war! I am worn down, and worn out, with crusading and defending Europe, and protecting mankind: I *must* think a little of myself. I am sorry for the Spaniards—I am sorry for the Greeks—I deplore the fate of the Jews; the people of the Sandwich Islands are groaning under the most detestable tyranny; Bagdad is oppressed; I do not like the present state of the Delta; Thibet is not comfortable. Am I to fight for all these people? The world is bursting with sin and sorrow. Am I to be the champion of the Decalogue, and to be eternally raising fleets and armies to make all

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men good and happy? We have just done saving Europe, and I am afraid the consequence will be, that we shall cut each other's throats. No war, dear Lady Grey!—No eloquence; but apathy, selfishness, common sense, arithmetic! I beseech you, secure Lord Grey's swords and pistols, as the house-keeper did Don Quixote's armour. If there is another war, life will not be worth having.

'May the vengeance of Heaven' overtake all the Legitimates of Verona! But, in the present state of rent and taxes, they must be *left* to the vengeance of Heaven. I allow fighting in such a cause to be a luxury; but the business of a prudent, sensible man, is to guard against luxury."

Epilogue:

And so, miraculously, freedom, dissolution of the Imperial State, devolution into many constituent parts, is coming rapidly to the formerly enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union. And what of America? Here statism, centralization, and collectivist power are intensifying with almost comparable speed. Back in the New Left era they had a slogan, *in re* Vietnam: "Bring the War Home." How about another slogan for the new post-Soviet era: Bring the Revolution Home? ●

Cry for Christian Science!

by M. N. R.

Poor Christian Science! In all too many churches, it seems, modernism and Mammon have triumphed over the faith, and CS is no exception. In recent decades, Outreach has tended to obscure the religious message, but at least that outreach was concentrated in a truly distinguished newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor*. A few years ago, the modernist wing, in charge of the church, decided to pour a lot of money into a "mass communication" effort on radio and TV, a communications message far softer on religious content. A particularly expensive money-sink is the new 24-hour cable channel, the Monitor Channel; all in all, this media effort is costing the Church an estimated $80 million this year.

In all too many churches, modernism and Mammon have triumphed over the faith.

Into this situation stepped the Knapp estate, the last of whose surviving three members died in 1972. The will left the Church over $90 million, provided that by 1993 the Church would publish as "authorized" a 1947, privately published book by the late Bliss Knapp, and display the book prominently in "substantially all" of the 2,500 reading rooms that the Church maintains throughout the world.

So why not publish the Knapp book, *Destiny of the Mother Church*? Because Knapp maintains what to the "traditionalist" wing of the Christian Science Church is arrant heresy: that Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of CS in 1879, was divine, a contention which Mrs. Eddy herself always had discouraged.

In August, the five-man board of directors of the "Mother Church," The First Church of Christ Scientist, Boston, effectively the ruler of the world-wide church, announced its decision: to publish the Knapp volume and collect the 90-odd mil. The traditionalists are understandably outraged, charging the church with selling out basic principle for money to keep the losing media empire going another year or so. Chairman of the Board of the Mother Church, modernist leader Harvey W. Wood, dismissed the charges as being spread by "disgruntled former employees" [why in the world should they be "disgruntled?"]. Does this mean that the modernists really believe that Mary Baker Eddy was divine, and if so, what kind of "modernists" are these? Oh, heavens no: to quote the *New York Times*

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article (Sept. 30), Mr. Wood "said that publishing the book reflected a new openness regarding divergent views and that people should be able to read such a book and weigh its arguments for themselves."

Well, I suppose that there's a certain charm in the august head of the Christian Science Church sounding like a third-grade version of John Stuart Mill or the ACLU. But look, guy: you're not supposed to be discoursing on diversity and letting a hundred flowers bloom; you're supposed to be running an important Church with some sort of religious message to push. Otherwise, why are you there? And why is the "modernist wing" there?

Or need I ask. Let's see: what's 30 pieces of silver in 1991 dollars? ●

The Cyprus Question

by M.N.R.

Now that George Bush has offered to help solve the long-standing Cyprus Question, it is high time to review what this problem is all about. In the first place, even though there are now two Cyprus Republics, there is no such thing as a Cypriot nation or language or culture. Whether there are one or two Cyprus Republics, they are still only artificial creations.

Greeks and Turks have hated each other with a purple passion for centuries.

In the first place, Cyprus is one of the numerous, mainly Greek-populated, islands that dot the eastern Mediterranean. However, since the island of Cyprus is only 44 miles from Turkey, the island is 80 percent Greek (in the southern and central part of the island) but 18 percent Turk (in the north). The island of Cyprus had long been occupied by British imperialism. When the British decided to divest itself of the island in 1960, it created as a replacement an independent Republic of Cyprus. Now, the point is that neither the Greeks nor the Turks thought of or think of themselves as "Cypriot" in nationality or culture, or in anything except mere geography. The Greek Cypriots had only one thought on their minds: the age-old desire for *enosis* (union) with the Greek motherland. Unfortunately, the Brits (backed by the U.S.) had other objectives, such as an elusive balance of power, in mind. The British installed as head of the Cypriot Republic Archbishop Makarios, formerly a beloved spokesman for *enosis*, but now widely regarded as a sellout of the cause. General George Grivas took to the hills to engage in pro-*enosis* guerrilla warfare. Finally, in 1974, the pro-Greek guerrillas (backed by the Greek government) were able to throw out Makarios and to seize power. But immediately, the Turkish government, fearing for its Turkish brethren at the hands of a militant Greek government, invaded Cyprus, and occupied the northern 40 percent of the island.

Since 1974, the forces on Cyprus have existed in uneasy stasis. The Cypriot Republic backed off from *enosis*, while the Turks established a Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983. But the Northern Cyprus Republic is only recognized by Turkey, and it subsists by the backing of 29,000 Turkish troops remaining in northern Cyprus.

Undoubtedly, Bush's instincts would be to impose a unitary Cyprus Republic, with guarantees for the Turkish minority, but that was precisely the failed plan imposed by the outgoing British in 1960. Greeks and Turks have hated each other with a purple passion for centuries, and it is absurd to believe that the Turks will ever again fall for being a minority within a unitary Greek state. Actually, ratifying the status quo would not be a bad solution, while also allowing the Greek Cypriots their cherished dream of *enosis* with Greece. Why not have a separate Northern Cyprus Republic for the

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Turks? The Turkish zone now is almost totally Turk, and likewise for the Greek zone. The big problem, however, is that when the Turks invaded Cyprus in 1974 they were, as usually happens in these matters, interested less in ethnic justice than in helping out their own ethnic comrades. As a result, they grabbed far too much territory, ensuring that the excess land would be Greek-free by forcibly ejecting 200,000 Greeks from their northern zone. Justice would require the Turks allowing the Greek expellees back into their homes, compensating them for their losses, and even reducing the extent of Northern Republic territory and transferring the excess land into the Greek zone. The chances of the Turks agreeing to any such plan—they who are deeply convinced that the only good Greek is a dead Greek—are of course minimal.

The chances, indeed, are not good that George Bush will somehow blunder into a solution to the Cyprus problem. Already the *New York Times* reports that "Mr. Bush seemed taken aback when he was asked by a Greek reporter why he did not 'liberate' Cyprus from the Turkish troops, as he 'liberated' Kuwait." But while the Cyprus Question might not get closer to a solution, we can be assured that before this episode is over, a lot of U.S. taxpayer money is going to get funneled into all countries involved. •

Ron Paul for President!

by M.N.R. and L.H.R., Jr.

1991 was a remarkable year for human liberty. In the three days of August that shook the world, the whole world watched on TV as ideas triumphed over guns, as the peoples of Russia and the Soviet Empire, wielding the idea of liberty as a mighty banner, brought down the cruel, seemingly impregnable totalitarian despotism of Soviet Communism. Seventy-four years of brainwashing and terror crumbled in the face of popular devotion to freedom of speech, press and assembly, to privatization and free markets, to devolution and decentralization of imperial power into national republics, and to secession. In short, to the ideas of libertarianism.

Ron Paul is the most important and most persuasive political standard-bearer for liberty in our generation.

But at the same time as liberty triumphs in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, what is happening here at home? In a cruel irony, the outlook for liberty in its homeland and former heartland—the United States—has never been grimmer. Those perceptive but not very funny jokes that used to circulate in Communist countries are now beginning to spread here: *e.g.*, that information and communication seems to be freer in Russia, where we could all watch the coup and the revolution, than in the U.S., where our media were puppets of the Pentagon displaying a phony Nintendo war in the Gulf.

Here at home, President Bush, who lied so notoriously about "read my lips" on taxes, who has been blithely expanding government spending and deficits at a rate unprecedented in American history, who is bringing even more burdens and regulations to American business and to American life, this same George Bush is waltzing toward a coronation in 1992. He faces no opposition in the Republican primary, and the contending Democrats are a bunch of fourth-rate clowns who will offer Bush no real opposition. No wonder, since the Democratic party is dead from the neck up, offering nothing of substance on any issue, foreign or domestic—nothing but more of the same statism that is not so slowly and surely bringing us down.

Our major problem is that there is, at this moment, no political opposition to these statist trends. We are convinced that large numbers of

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Americans are instinctively libertarian, or "paleo-libertarian," to be more accurate. But most people are not full-time political ideologues; they have their daily lives to live. So they can't be expected to pay permanent, continuing attention to politics—*that* is the job of ideological and political leaders, of political movements. In our social division of labor, it is up to people who are interested and who care full time about politics to provide leadership, to sound the trumpet, to raise the banner, to point out the grave problems and the libertarian solutions, and to gather the troops for battle. Many politicians, even some libertarian ones, have decided that it's smarter to do nothing, to avoid challenging the mighty champ in the White House, and to maneuver carefully, and position oneself for '96. But this path of caution is not going to work because *people forget*. Presidential elections are the times when most Americans get interested in politics, and are receptive to political ideology. Passing up this opportunity and waiting another four years, risks people forgetting about the cause, getting inured to existing evils, and not caring any more when 1996 rolls around.

The ideas of liberty are now common in the United States, but they are scattered, disorganized, liable to disappear, because no political leader or movement is giving it substance and cohesion.

It is because we desperately need such a movement and such a standard-bearer, that we now strongly endorse, and urge our readers to get behind, the growing movement to enter Ron Paul in the Republican primaries for President. Ron Paul is the most important and most persuasive political standard-bearer for liberty in our generation. As a four-term Republican Congressman from Texas, he defied the Republican party bosses by voting for liberty and against statism on every vote, across the board, on economics, personal liberties, and for a pro-American foreign policy. In 1988, Ron ran for president on the Libertarian Party ticket. In 1992, by running in the Republican primary, in the big leagues, Ron can take libertarian ideas and policies into the mainstream of American politics. He can make a tremendous impact, get enormous publicity, raise the banner and educate a massive public, and build a cohesive movement which can then be poised and ready to go to take over the Republican party for liberty in 1996.

Ron has a unique opportunity to make such an impact for the following reasons. First, he can mobilize the votes of not just libertarians, but all conservatives and anti-taxers who are disgusted and fed up with George Bush. This is especially true because supporting or voting for Ron Paul in a few primaries does not require a permanent or lifelong commitment from conservative Republicans. Even those who are generally pro-Bush will be happy to seize the opportunity to "send George a message," and by piling up the votes for Ron Paul, push Bush further to the right in the election campaign or during his second term. In short, even steadfast Republicans will not have to feel that they are betraying the Republican Party or even President Bush by giving him a sharp rap on the knuckles in the primaries and voting for Ron Paul, and then shifting to back Bush against the Democrats next November. There is no downside in a Ron Paul campaign for either conservatives or libertarians. For libertarians, think of it! We will be working in a mighty across-the-board coalition, across the entire Right, headed by a man who is unimpeachably libertarian, educating both the party and the country in the libertarian message!

And secondly, Ron would make an enormous impact in this particular election because the poor media are all dressed up with no place to go. Crack reporters, in the press and TV, are all geared up to report at length on "The Road to the White House, '92," and what have they got to write or talk about? What do they do to overcome the looming boredom among themselves, and still worse, among their readers and viewers? So far, nothing; the Democrats are nowhere, and there is no Republican opposition. The media, in short, are desperate, and so a primary challenge to

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George Bush, by a long-time former Republican Congressman, a credible and articulate candidate, will be lapped up by the media.

It is remarkable that already, even at the merest hint that Ron might run in the Republican primaries, he has gotten enormous attention: not only from his hometown *Houston Post*, but also from the *Washington Times*, and even from the nation's most respected political reporter, David Broder of the *Washington Post*, who was fascinated by the idea and called up Ron to interview him for an hour. This is already almost more media attention than Ron received in his entire 1988 LP campaign for President!

Not only that: but the interest, even at these early hints, among conservative and Republican activists has been nothing short of phenomenal. One of the leaders called to offer his full support, and declared that Ron could "really make some trouble for those SOBs at the White House, *and* rejuvenate the Right." And this is only one of *many* such sentiments, and this before any mailing or announcement!

What we have to do now is simple: persuade Ron Paul that he has enough support, among libertarians, among conservatives, among Republicans, and throughout the country, to get him to agree to disrupt his life and take up, once again, the torch of liberty. Let's do it; let's flood Ron with messages and calls of support. A Ron Paul for President Exploratory Committee (legally, a "testing-the-waters" committee) has been formed to try to achieve this goal. The committee would greatly welcome your queries, message of support, and financial support for this task (The Ron Paul for President Exploratory Committee's address is 875 Mahler Road, Suite 150, Burlingame, CA 94010, and its phone number is 415-692-8548.) We need to convince Ron of a basic truth: that his leadership is desperately needed now, for the cause of liberty, for the development of a libertarian movement, and for the health of this country. Ron needs to realize that it's not only a small circle of long-time friends that understands this reality, but that many people across the country agree.

What, you might ask, of the Libertarian Party in all this? The LP's "electronic bulletin board" has been featuring a raging dispute among the faithful. Opinions range from those LPers who welcome the Paul candidacy as a way of advancing libertarian ideas, to the more paranoid folks who think that the whole idea is a plot by the two of us to destroy the LP. They might be interested to know that the idea of Ron running in the Republican primary was originated not by us, but in a letter to Ron Paul from a bright young Missouri LP stalwart, Timothy E. Peterman, who ran for State Rep. on the LP ticket in 1988, and intends to run again next year. Outgoing national LP chair David Walter welcomes the idea of Libertarian Republicans as deeply complementary of LP efforts. Moreover, new LP national chair Mary Gingell, as soon as she learned of the possibility of Ron's running in the Republican primary, issued a press release (September 17) strongly welcoming his proposed race. Ron Paul's race against Bush, said Gingell, could "introduce voters to libertarian ideas," and "deliver a message" about the "harmful policies" of President Bush that "violate the Bill of Rights, block free-market prosperity, and promise to send American troops into the foreign wars of tomorrow."

But what about the LP itself? The two races, Ron Paul's and Andre Marrou's, are perfectly compatible. Andre Marrou has won his nomination; primaries are for him irrelevant. There is no reason why an LP activist cannot work wholeheartedly for Paul in the Republican primaries and then, after next summer's Republican convention, work for Marrou in the general election until November. Even LP loyalists should agree: let's all encourage Ron to enter the race.

Note: Our endorsement of Ron Paul as individuals in no way implies that the Center for Libertarian Studies, which is a non-political organization, endorses his candidacy. ●

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Rabid Watchdogs

by Joseph Sobran

My first political passion was anti-Communism, and anti-Communism was formative, as they say, in determining my political views. For most of my adult life I've been temperamentally inclined to defend Joe McCarthy, the Vietnam War, the CIA, funding the contras, invading Grenada, FBI surveillance of suspected subversives, and so on.

I don't apologize for it; that's my life. (I stole this line from *The Godfather*.) It made me part of a pack of predictable opinion: whenever a new controversy arose over some anti-Communist tactic, my voice was sure to be among those baying on one side.

Of course liberal anti-anti-Communism made it easy. I'd still defend just about every one of Ronald Reagan's anti-Commie "gaffes," most of which are now certified as the most pellucid common sense. The *New York Times* jeered editorially for two years at Reagan's phrase "evil empire." By 1991 the aptness of the phrase was being acknowledged by men high in the Soviet hierarchy itself. When Communism died this summer, the *Times* should have blushed itself scarlet at the near-unanimity of anti-Communism among Muscovites. Instead, with the bland effrontery for which that great organ is remarkable, it dubbed the Russian anti-Communists "liberals." The L-word still has its uses. I guess Solzhenitsyn was just a premature liberal.

My anti-Communism was straightforward. The Soviet threat made me willing to accept as necessary the enormous American military establishment, as well as various covert CIA-style measures against Soviet clients like the Sandinistas. But when Communism fell with a King Kong-like thud, the rationale for these military and espionage instruments ended too. The end achieved, the means were dispensable. Good, I thought: now we can scale the armed forces down drastically and let the taxpayers keep their money.

The "Stalinists" who'd sacked Gorbachev were about the most bourgeois gang imaginable.

But to my surprise, nothing of the sort happened. Most of my fellow anti-Communists seemed to want to continue the Cold War one way or another. Some denied, as long as possible, that the Cold War had ended. Perestroika was a trap, an illusion, or maybe just a temporary phenomenon like Lenin's NEP. Instead of rejoicing that our dream had come true, they were shooting the messenger who brought the good news. Their hearts seemed to leap up at the news of the Moscow coup: here was reassurance that the cherished enemy was still afoot! By the second day, it was clear that the "Stalinists" who'd sacked Gorbachev were about the most bourgeois gang imaginable. Their public statements said nothing about Marxism-Leninism, deploring instead the breakdown of law and order and public morality.

By the time the coup collapsed, the anti-Communist set had already poured out reams of columns, editorials, and op-ed pieces arguing triumphantly that this was no time to reduce the size of our armed services or cripple the CIA. But retractions were not forthcoming. The dismal failure of the coup, and the evident weakness of the forces that had staged it, somehow didn't prove that it *was* okay to lower our guard. Eternal vigilance is the price of, well, eternal vigilance.

The real death of Communism, if a milestone is necessary, occurred in late 1989, when the captive nations claimed their independence, with no resistance from Moscow. That was the moment when the U.S. should have begun to abandon its post-World War II military posture. But instead it became more bellicose than before, invading Panama and crushing Iraq for reasons that had nothing

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to do with the safety of Americans from foreign attack. Neither Manuel Noriega nor Saddam Hussein wanted hostilities with the U.S.—their well-documented personal shortcomings do not include either insanity or suicidal tendencies—but rather tried desperately to avoid war without losing face. In retrospect, the idea that either dictator posed a threat to America seems more absurd than ever.

Within six months of his inauguration, George Bush had betrayed conservatives in a big way by abandoning his histrionic pledge never even to contemplate a tax increase. But once he started making war, all was forgiven, and damn near forgotten. For most conservatives, war covered a multitude of sins, especially a pair of wars undertaken with minimal consultation with the Democratic Congress. Conservatism no longer seems to have any principles of its own; it can be functionally defined as whatever irritates liberals.

And because liberals dominate Congress, conservatives have forgotten what they should have learned from the Constitution, *The Federalist*, and such recent conservative intellectuals as James Burnham and Willmoore Kendall: that under our system, the people are supposed to be represented by Congress, and the president is not a monarch but a mere *executive*.

From the New Deal to the Great Society, long before Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. started worrying about the Imperial Presidency, conservatives were preoccupied by the problem of the runaway executive. Roosevelt, Truman, and Johnson had exploited the demagogic and dictatorial potential of the office, threatening to flatten the careful articulations of the system into a simple plebiscitary democracy. Conservatives fought a rear-guard action in defense of congressional prerogatives, including the investigative powers of the House Committee on Un-American Activities against which Dwight Eisenhower had claimed "executive privilege."

Within six months of his inauguration, George Bush had betrayed conservatives in a big way.

But with the election of Richard Nixon, liberals and conservatives traded places. Congress became the liberal stronghold, and the presidency became the conservatives' only hope. And ever since, conservatives have become advocates of what you might call Republican Caesarism, seeking for the presidency the sort of concentrated powers and even plebiscitary authority they used to denounce.

So now it has become routine for conservatives to oppose congressional hearings, to defend rogue executive operations, to become indignant when Congress exerts its fully constitutional power to reject presidential appointments. Most ominously of all, conservatives even argue that the president may make war without a declaration of war by Congress.

All this is anti-liberal, all right, but it's not exactly *Conservative*. An executive, by definition, is one who executes laws made by others. And the idea that one man may commit the entire nation to war is about as far from American constitutional principles as you can get.

Conservatives seek simultaneously to maximize the president's war-making power and to preserve the huge military forces that can enable him to exercise that power. Cord Meyer, for example, argues that we can't afford to cut "defense" spending. Well, if we can't afford to cut it after the demise of the Soviet threat, you can only conclude that that threat was never the real reason for its existence—as the most radical critics always insisted. As the socialist dream perishes, the Right is vindicating the Left.

In truth, I've sensed for quite a while now that there is more healthy irreverence for the state on the Left than on the Right, for all the conservative anti-government grumbling. The Left never speaks

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of a duty to support our president, for example; whatever its own statist dreams, it never forgets that the state, on American principles, isn't supposed to have an autonomous existence, but is supposed to be an extension of the people in order to have any legitimacy at all. We the people are *always* entitled to criticize the state. Theoretically, it's "ours." We aren't "its."

When I denounced the Iraq war last winter, one of my fellow conservatives accused me of "sedition." That word expressed a primal conservative attitude toward the state. In republican theory, citizen criticism of the state is itself part of the system of governance, not a rupture of the system.

The people, *c'est moi.* And as the guy for whom this system supposedly operates, and to whom it's supposedly answerable, I've decided that our "defense" establishment is no longer defending me—if it ever was. I put up with it, and paid for it, as long as I thought it was doing me some good. But when I'm told it's my *duty* to support it, it's pretty clear that the proper order of things has gotten inverted.

Now I feel a lot safer from burglars than I do from the dogs. Let's shoot 'em.

By "me" I mean, of course, myself as a typical one of "us," without reference to my personal situation. I speak as I wish all Americans would: *we* are all being tyrannized by an insubordinate servant, whom we are taught we have a duty to obey.

As I write, liberals and conservatives are drearily debating whether Robert Gates should be confirmed as head of the CIA. At one time I'd have been defending him, in spite of strong testimony as to his corruption and incompetence. The CIA, the FBI, and the armed forces are like big, mean dogs. While I felt threatened by burglars, I was content to have them around the house. Now I feel a lot safer from burglars than I do from the dogs. Let's shoot 'em.

Liberals keep some pretty mean dogs too. All their compassionate programs depend on the services of Big Fido, the IRS—to say nothing of the EPA, EEOC, the FDA, and all the other acronymic beasts that "protect" us with bared fangs, a constant low growl, and disquieting flecks of foam around the gums. Thanks, but I prefer to be unprotected. ●

Crowned Heights

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

"Traffic Death in Brooklyn Fuels Black-Hasidic Clash" read a typical headline in the *New York Times*. National Public Radio made frequent use of the passive voice: "violence has broken out again in Crown Heights." For almost two days, there was little publicity about the serious troubles in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, which were not a clash, but a black attack on the Hasidic Jews who make up 10% of the Crown Heights population.

There has long been anti-Jewish, anti-white hatred among the black residents of Crown Heights, most of which is a slum. But the Hasidic area is a thriving community of handsome townhouses, apartment buildings, stores, synagogues, and religious schools. Nothing is rundown or dirty.

Vitriolic envy is therefore never far beneath the surface, and it erupted when a 22-year-old Jewish man, Yoseph Lisef, had an automobile accident while driving in a religious procession. Gavin Cato, a seven-year-old black boy, was killed, and his cousin, Angela, injured. Two ambulances arrived almost simultaneously, city and private (Jewish). Since a crowd of blacks was stoning Lisef and his passengers—after having robbed

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them—the police told the Jewish ambulance driver to take the Hasidim and go, while the city ambulance attended to the children.

Swollen by people just arrived from a B.B. King concert, crowds ran down the Jewish streets breaking windows and shouting "Jew, Jew." A 29-year-old rabbinical student from Australia, Yankel Rosenbaum, was stabbed to death in "revenge" by a group of young men chanting "Kill the Jew." Even an Egyptian named Mohammed was severely beaten because crowds thought he was Jewish.

Violent demonstrations continued for days, and Gavin's funeral became a political rally. The Hasidim "have abused their power in Crown Heights," said civil rights leader Rev. Herbert Daughtry. They have "kept to themselves" and not "supported the community," *i.e.* given him money. He warned of "the fire next time": citywide anti-white riots. (A few days before the Crown Heights riots, the Rev. Daughtry had told his congregation: "Rise up, you mighty race. Fight, you mighty race.")

Signs held up at the funeral included "Reparations Now" and "The White Man Is the Devil." In street demonstrations, a popular banner read "Hitler Didn't Finish the Job."

Charges against the Hasidim include the Rev. Al Sharpton's claim that the mere existence of a Jewish ambulance service is "apartheid," and that cops treat the Hasidim better.

If true, perhaps this is because the police find it hard to imagine a group of Hasidic boys stabbing an innocent black youth. Or Hasidic muggers and rapists roaming the streets. Or Hasidic thieves stealing car radios. Or Hasidic burglars breaking into apartments. Or Hasidic crack addicts thronging the local park. Or Hasidic welfare bums. Or Hasidic welfare mothers. Or Hasidic wilding.

The police find it hard to imagine a group of Hasidic boys stabbing an innocent black youth.

If the Hasidim of Crown Heights have the police's respect, it could be because they deserve it. Through lives of productive work and social discipline, they have built and preserved a prosperous community in the midst of an urban desert.

Non-Hasidim are free to follow their example. If they choose not to do so, it is hardly the fault of the successful. "Should we cast aside what we have built up for ourselves," the Hasidic Rabbi Yehuda Krinsky asked, "because others don't have it?"

* * * * *

When the riots in Crown Heights ran into their third night, liberal columnist Jimmy Breslin took a taxi to the scene.

"Somebody jumped on the hood of the car and swung a baseball bat at the front window," Breslin wrote. "On his third swing, the entire windshield shattered." They dragged him out, "throwing punches, holding me, ripping at my clothes for the only thing they wanted, money." The next thing he knew he was lying on the street, beaten, stripped to his shorts, and surrounded by more than a hundred young men yelling "White man!"

Editors and reporters "don't know these neighborhoods," said a chastened Breslin. "Nobody goes into those neighborhoods." The "story is the hatred," but nobody "wants to face the truth." Thousands "have been on the streets since May. They haven't worked. They don't want to work, a lot of them. They can barely read or write and they're just [obscenity] mad."

* * * * *

Although no alcohol or drugs were found in Yoseph Lisef's bloodstream—a medical result Sharpton denounced as a "cover-up"—the young man was called before a grand jury. Despite political pressure from Mayor David Dinkins—who said there would be "great unrest in the African-American community" if Lisef were not indicted—the grand jury

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ruled, correctly, that it was no criminal matter.

There have been none of the predicted riots since the verdict was announced, but some of the Hasidic Jews are leaving anyway. "They were yelling 'Heil Hitler,'" said one woman. "We never thought we would face that in this country."

Note: When an unlicensed, uninsured black driver ran over and killed a Jewish child in the fall of 1989, there were—of course—no Hasidic anti-black riots. ●

Caritas

by L.H.R., Jr.

If there's anything colder than the heart of a liberal priest, I haven't encountered it. One of the reasons these types delighted in the Vatican II revolution—in addition to their joy in downgrading the Mass and other sacraments—was the anguish this caused traditional parishioners, who are just supposed to pay up and shut up.

It was often claimed that elderly parishioners in particular had bad taste in church decorations. That may be true, although it is hardly a Heaven shaking issue, and any mistakes were well intended, unlike every action of the liberals.

Most of the disputes were settled long ago, with the Vandals carrying the day. But in Pittsfield, Mass., there's one last skirmish, reports the *New York Times*.

At St. Joseph's Cemetery, families could decorate the graves of their dead as they saw fit. But last spring this all changed, when the new pastor of St. Joseph's Church, the Rev. David Farland, ordered the cemetery stripped and people limited to one flower pot per plot. Anything else "just doesn't look right," said the priest.

There's nothing colder than the heart of a liberal priest.

This time, however, parishioners didn't go gently into that not-so-good night. They collected 1,300 signatures on a petition calling for the old rules to be reinstated, and formed an organization to work for it. "The issue here is more than a few flowers in the ground," said Charlene Dus, a leader of the protest group. "It's the cruelty behind it. This is just plain meanness."

What were the offending decorations? One family had placed a drumstick on the grave of a child who loved playing drums. Others had put rosaries. Still others planted flowers and erected small fences. Another common custom was poinsettias at Christmas. All were thrown out without informing the families.

Nancy Frechette's son had planted daisies on her husband's grave. They were uprooted. "For me," she said, "it was just one more thing taken away."

"They're looking at the small picture, their own plots," said Father Farland. "We have to look at the big picture." (The evil of careless aggregation raises its ugly head once again.)

I am the last person to encourage lawsuits, but I'm delighted that two have been filed against Father Farland, who refused even to meet with the distraught families.

"I know it sounds silly," said Mrs. Dus, whose father is buried in the cemetery, "fighting over flowers. But if it helps you get through, what's so wrong with it?"

What indeed. What indeed would have been wrong with suing *all* these liberal clerico-fascists when they set out to wreck the Church? Old-school Catholics were raised to obey authority, as they are obliged to do when it is legitimate, and right reason and a properly formed conscience agree. But when the shepherd is a wolf, there is no such obligation.

These days, most parishes and dioceses should not be supported beyond a minimal amount. One orthodox alternative is the Priestly Fraternity of St. Peter (550

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Ridgeway Rd., Ridgefield, Conn. 06877), a heroic group of traditional priests in Europe and the U.S. ●

Unendangered Greenomania

by L.H.R., Jr.

Because of a "threatened" midget fish, the Delta Smelt, human life in Northern California may be in trouble. Pumping water from the Upper Sacramento Delta for millions of people and farms has disturbed the minnow-like creature—there are now allegedly "only" 200,000 of them—so the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service wants to list the smelt as "threatened." Although not requiring the same extreme action as an "endangered" designation, it is still capable of drastically cutting human water use so a useless fish can thrive. The environmentalists are, of course, pushing for the fish to be named endangered.

Why does no one examine this entire process? The Endangered Species Act was a power grab by the federal government and the environmentalists. To be listed, an animal or plant need not be "endangered" worldwide, but only in a specific "habitat." Thus, using abundant Pacific salmon which are "endangered" in certain stretches of certain rivers, the ecos can stop human progress in coastal areas of the Northwest.

But even if a species were really endangered, why is this an argument for destroying property rights? Let those who want to preserve the species do it on their own land and at their own expense. Besides, the same people who claim that natural = good want to stop the perfectly natural process of species extinction. Most of the species present on earth since the creation—like the dinosaur and the mastodon—are gone for reasons having nothing to do with man. Would it be neat to have live dinosaurs? Sure, but not at the expense of human life in the United States.

The Endangered Species Act was a power grab by the federal government.

Because there is so little opposition, the state-environmental combine is pushing farther and farther. For example, a single male Alameda whipsnake has halted an expensive home development in Pleasanton, California. Although not "endangered" (unfortunately), the snake is protected by the state of California, unlike the builder.

State biologists captured the reptile on the developer's land, put a radio transmitter on it, and tracked its preferred habitat. As a result, preferred human habitat must be reserved for the snake, at a very high cost to the land owner. If female snakes show up, *their* habitat must be protected as well.

Meanwhile, in Georgia the mere possibility of endangered red cockaded woodpeckers in a stand of timber is being used to prevent the landowner from harvesting her trees or selling the land.

Seventeen trees on 175 acres of land owned by Mrs. June Whittaker were found to contain holes that might be woodpecker dwellings. There were no actual woodpeckers, but for *five years* while the state checks to see if any birds show up, she is not allowed to sell or cut.

Mrs. Whittaker says she has written her senators and representatives, but "no one seems to be interested in my right to harvest my own timber." Meanwhile, she is "losing money every day."

Mrs. Whittaker says she "recognizes the Endangered Species Act and the need to protect the woodpecker," but since this is a taking under the Fifth Amendment, she should be compensated.

Yes, she should be, but until the Mrs. Whittakers recognize that *they* are the endangered species we should care about, and that the envi-

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ronmentalist paradigm needs to be junked here as elsewhere, people like her will continue to have their property taken without compensation for a bird, leaving them with only the taxes. ●

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

That Wave of Hate Crimes

Among the hate crimes reported to—*and investigated by*—the Orange County, California, sheriff's office: the charge that a white elementary school student was "harassing" a black classmate.

Another White Crime

Last summer, NPR and other liberal media outlets were full of stories about the lynching of a black man on the University of Idaho campus in Moscow. We were reminded that the "lily-white state of Idaho is home to the [minuscule] Aryan Nation...," etc. Strange to say, when the corpse turned out to be Iranian—darkened from several days of exposure—and the "lynching" a suicide, none of the national media mentioned it.

SAT Stats

Once again Scholastic Aptitude Test scores have fallen, in almost direct proportion to the federal government's control and funding of education. But this may be the last year for results by race: Asians scored an average of 941; whites 896; and blacks 736. "Cultural bias" is the usual charge, but if that's true, why do recent Asian immigrants beat out whites?

Locusts and Honey in Phoenix

I know that blasphemy is no longer even a social offense, and megalomania the politician's disease, but an anecdote from a Pat Buchanan column was startling nonetheless: in conferring a Medal of Freedom on Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan called him the conservative movement's "John the Baptist." And just what, in your own mind, does that make you, Dutch?

The Proboscis Question

After sharp criticism by the Simon Wiesenthal Center (SWC) in Los Angeles, Family Entertainment Network (FEN) of Dallas is redoing its "Animated Stories From the New Testament."

And just what, in your own mind, does that make you, Dutch?

"This is an expensive process," said Stephen Griffith of FEN, "but we are going to take it on." At issue is what Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the SWC called an "unflattering, stereotypical portrayal of Jews."

Of the 157 characters—all drawn by a Jewish artist—16 villains have big noses, as do 48 heroes.

In addition to deproboscizing the videos, FEN is sending an explanatory mailing to the 400,000 people who bought the old tapes, and having a new cartoon character introduce the series with an explanation that Jesus Christ was a Jew.

Discriminating

There is a remnant of the word's old meaning when we praise someone as a "discriminating person." Despite Ayn Rand, who denounced all group judgments as irrational and "collectivist," for economizing reasons they are perfectly legitimate.

A couple of years ago, a white storeowner on New York City's Madison Avenue in the upper 80s was heavily fined by the city's Human Rights Commission. Her crime? She refused to buzz young black males into her dress shop unless they wore business suits. She worked alone, and had been robbed several times by young black males in running suits and sneakers.

This is illegal discrimination in New York City, although as a property owner,

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not to speak of someone with an understanding of the laws of probability, she had the perfect right to discriminate.

Now America's motels are under attack for age discrimination. They tend to turn away males under 25 (white and black). Why? It is their experience that such "guests" are far more likely to trash a room than other customers. Is this illegitimate? Of course not, since no one has the right to rent somebody else's room, despite the drastic diminution in the right of "public-accommodations" owners since the passage of the appalling 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Businessmen are anxious to attract and please customers. When they turn someone away, they have a good reason for it.

What would happen if someone were to criticize a white man for "betraying his white roots"?

Miscegenation

Interracial marriage is really in the news, thanks to Clarence Thomas's white wife. Russell Adams, chairman of the Howard University Afro-American Studies Department, calls her a "sign of his rejection of the black community." *Washington Post* editorial staffer Colbert King disagrees, pointing out that Thurgood Marshall's wife is a Philippina, and his two sons are married to white women.

A listing of blacks in civil rights, entertainment, sports, business, government, and the media who are in mixed marriages would run off this page," says King. "And an accounting of mainstream brethren who have bragged about the white women they have known—in a Biblical sense—might consume even more space."

Note: the authenticity of Thomas's black roots has been central to the debate over his nomination. I wonder what would happen if someone were to criticize a white man for "betraying his white roots"?

Undercover Testing

The civil rights lobby is calling on the federal government to make much greater use of undercover testing, by which blacks, whites, and Hispanics with the "same credentials" are sent to apply for jobs. If the white is hired and the black or Hispanic not, the businessman would be fined $100,000. "It's cheap, it's doable, and it provides conclusive evidence of discrimination," says Michael Fix of the Urban Institute.

Only egalitarians could make such an argument, of course. The fact that two applicants are, for example, college graduates with ten years of sales experience doesn't mean that they are equal in any sense. The non-quantifiable attributes are what count. Does the applicant have a chip on his shoulder? Does he have an unpleasant or hard-to-understand accent? Does he react well to the stress of an interview and therefore a selling situation? Is he articulate? Does he look and sound smart? Does he have a sense of humor? Is he pleasant looking? Such judgments are fast being outlawed as "discriminatory."

There She Is

After two recent black Miss Americas, the new winner—Carolyn Sapp of Hawaii—is white. Was it racism? Some commentators thought so. But the existence of numerous all-black beauty contests is not.

The Champ

Speaking of beauty contests, black boxer Mike Tyson was indicted for the rape of a Miss Black Collegiate America contestant, an Indianapolis event at which he was a judge. Despite that, and his long history of all sorts of misconduct, Tyson was awarded an honorary doctorate in the humanities (!) by Central State College. "I don't know what kind of doctor I'm supposed to be," he said in his acceptance

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speech, "but when I look out at all these fine sisters here, I want to become a gynecologist."

Another Victim Group

This year, Salem, Mass., is commemorating the 300th anniversary of the famous witch trials, triggered when Caribbean servants introduced voodoo into the small Puritan community.

But one group is complaining loudly: witches. Among the 38,000 residents are 2,400 members of a witches' association. They have even formed a civil rights group, the Witches League for Public Awareness.

"There is a major political issue here," Laurie Cabot told the *New York Times*. Cabot, the self-styled "official witch of Salem" and owner of a witch supply store, says city officials have "failed to seek the counsel of the witches" and are oppressing them with myths. "Witches don't sacrifice animals or people or drink blood or eat babies or any of that stuff." They are members of a pagan religion "that uses magic for good."

"I'd say exploited is the word," says Shawn Poirier, a Third Degree High Priest of Salem's Coven of the Seventh Moon. "It's like a sultry love affair. They don't mind making the money and promoting us on Halloween, but when it comes to standing up during the tricentenary and saying what is witchcraft," they "don't want to have anything to do with us."

Not surprisingly, the witches have cast a spell on Salem. The mayor says the city is going ahead with its plans anyway.

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The College Experience

Amidst the hysteria over collegiate date rape, which in many cases is simple fornication, non-rapists have had their names smeared, and their college careers ruined, by vindictive ex-girlfriends.

Don't worry, says Catherine Comins, assistant dean of students at Vassar, it does the boys good: "They have a lot of pain, but it is not a pain that I would necessarily have spared them. I think it ideally initiates a process of self-exploration. 'How do I see women?' 'If I didn't violate her, could I have?' 'Do I have the potential to do to her what they say I did?' Those are good questions."

Hmmm. What an interesting principle. What if someone unjustly accused Ms. Comins of shoplifting, and she were arrested. She would have a lot of pain, but is it pain we should want to spare her? Might it not initiate a process of self-exploration? "How do I see other people's property?" "If I didn't steal, could I have?" "Do I have the potential to do what they say I did?" Those are good questions.

She Was All That She Could Be

Army Captain Linda Bray, much celebrated as a symbol of equality and the new Army when she and her platoon shot up and then captured a dog kennel during the U.S. invasion of Panama, was medically discharged in April. While on a training march with a heavy pack, she fractured both legs, says *Fidelity* magazine.

Pastoral Care in Pacific Heights

For almost three years, the liberal Rev. Victor Wei was the highly acclaimed Chinese-American rector of St. Luke's, a wealthy Episcopal parish in San Francisco's Pacific Heights. Then the married clergyman was accused of seducing a parishioner. Then a church investigation found he had stolen $150,000 in special collections. Then he was found to have twice threatened the life of a member of the vestry who called for closer financial controls:

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"I may have to kill her," he said. "I may have to cut her head off." There was an additional four-inch-thick stack of accusations.

For a long time the liberal local bishop, William Swing, supported Wei, only reluctantly suspending him. (A good rule of thumb in these ecclesiastical days: never have a bishop named Swing.)

Wei plans to declare bankruptcy to avoid having to pay back the stolen money, and he is negotiating for the right to continue living in the ritzy rectory *in return for his promise not to sue the church for racial discrimination.*

The Challenger explosion, said Professor Jeffries, made it more difficult for "whites to spread their filth throughout the universe."

The Differently Olfactored

PC continues to proliferate. Now it's politically incorrect to wear perfume. Ultra-liberal Marin County, Cal., is home to a national movement to outlaw "discretionary fragrances" in public. "I know people have a right to choose their personal-care products," says leader Susan Molloy, "but the air is shared." Terri White posts a sign outside her home warning people not to enter if they have been exposed to smoke, dry cleaning fluid, perfume, or after-shave. She wants the fragrantly challenged segregated in public accommodations.

So far, Marin County has not gone along. "I will not have sniffers at the door" of public meetings, said one official.

The only answer, says Ms. Molloy, is for her movement to be recognized as an official disability under the Americans With Disabilities Act. Then they could sue.

Note: This movement is aimed only at artificial smells. The bathless are in no danger.

More on Lennie

Professor Leonard Jeffries, Jr., chairman of the Afro-American Studies Department at City University of New York, came forcefully to public notice last summer when he claimed there was a Jewish-Italian anti-black conspiracy in Hollywood. He has also said that whites are inferior Ice People, and blacks superior Sun People. Noting that he wished whites "could be wiped off the face of the earth," he cheered the Challenger explosion as making it more difficult for "whites to spread their filth throughout the universe."

Naturally, therefore, Jeffries has had what the *New York Times* calls "unusually quick promotions" from the whites who run CUNY: in 1971 when Jeffries was 35, *before* he had finished his PhD, he was made chairman of his department and tenured as full professor. His scholarly output since then has consisted of a 1983 introduction to an anti-South-African book published by the World Council of Churches, and a 1976 article for a weekly newspaper.

"I don't have a desire to publish or perish," says Jeffries. "I came into the academic realm at the top. It's not necessary for me to crawl up the academic realm to try and get an article here, try to get an article there. I am expanding the realm, moving it beyond the white lie of white supremacy."

Another Surrender

The Boy Scouts, fast becoming a thoroughly PC entity, has forbidden Scouts in Southern states from displaying the flag of the Confederacy, or using it on merit badges.

More October Surprise Clues

"Why is Robert Kimmit giving up the power he wields as one of James Baker's inner circle," asks the *Washington Monthly*, to become ambassador to Germany?

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The "real cynics say it's because Bush wants to get him away from Washington and the committees that will be looking into the October Surprise and Iran-Contra. Similar considerations, the same cynics suggest, led to Donald Gregg's convenient exile" as South Korean ambassador. "Both men were working on the NSC under Jimmy Carter and could have been valuable sources for William Casey in the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign."

Other sources "say if you want to figure out who in the NSC leaked to the Reagan-Bush people, consider the man who benefitted most, William Odom, a low-ranking colonel under Carter who was mysteriously selected as head of the powerful National Security Agency by Ronald Reagan."

Gone With the Wind II

The unbelievably awful sequel to Margaret Mitchell's great *Gone With the Wind* is PC. The author, bodice-ripper novelist Alexandra Ripley, eschews 19th-century black dialect as "demeaning." However, the Mitchell Estate has been criticized for insisting on no explicit sex, homosexuality, or miscegenation.

Maybe the next project could be a de-dialectized *GWTW*. For example, instead of saying "Doan know nothin' 'bout birthin' no babies," Prissy could tell Miss Scarlett: "Madam, I have neither formal education nor practical experience in obstetrics."

The final and civilized word on *GWTW* comes from Professor M. E. Bradford's grandmother, who said that Margaret Mitchell must have had a wild streak in her: "A true Southern lady would have made Melanie the heroine, not Scarlett."

Americans are getting sick of the homeless, and not only when they're within smelling distance.

Hurray for Fakes

The art world is all upset. Technology now makes it possible for the non-rich to own reasonably priced copies of masterworks that even experts can't tell from the original. Recently, two "Matisse" paintings produced by True Fakes of New York were inadvertently authenticated and sold for high prices by a dealer.

Counterfeiting is a legitimate concern, of course, and reputable fakers now stamp their paintings on the back in indelible ink. But there are other worries.

"These reproductions are to art lovers what pet rocks are to dog lovers," sniffs Constance Lowenthal, head of an anti-fake group. "Why should people visit museums," frets the *New York Times*, "if fake artworks are in wide circulation and are virtually indistinguishable from the originals?" Good museums, because of the range of their collections and interesting exhibitions, will always be worth visiting, not to speak of the delight in seeing originals.

But what's wrong with people having, in effect, part of that collection in their homes? It seems to me another triumph of capitalism.

The Ambitionless

More and more Americans are getting sick of the homeless, and not only when they are within smelling distance. Cities all over America—which formerly rolled out the red carpet for bums—are now telling them to go elsewhere, or get a job.

D.C. closed two city shelters after their aggressive inhabitants had made the neighborhoods unlivable for the homed. Santa Barbara now makes them sleep in an empty lot where they can't be seen. As a liberal Santa Barbara official says, "when you see these characters sitting around in the middle of the day when everyone else is

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working to survive, you don't feel much sympathy."

Atlanta police can now arrest loiterers in empty buildings and "aggressive panhandlers." In Miami, those beggars who threaten to smear your windshield with grease at street corners unless you pay, can now be fined $500 and sentenced to 60 days in jail. New York City, despite the efforts of a crazed federal judge to protect it as "expression," has outlawed panhandling on the subways.

The homeless are virtually all single male alcoholics or drug addicts, despite the propaganda. Those who want help should get it from churches and other private charities. But most simply heed the New Testament incentive of "he who does not work, neither shall he eat." That is, no welfare. Those who still want to be bums, and there have always been such people, should be encouraged by the police to spend their time in a Bowery district.

Was the Devil the first egalitarian?

The True Face of Egalitarianism

Canadian Catholics are now ordered by their left-wing bishops to stand during the consecration of the mass. "The use of different postures by the priest and the people speaks a message in itself," says a church newsletter. "It says their role is unequal." And Hell forbid it.

Egalitarianism first came into existence, traditional Christians believe, when Lucifer sought equal footing with the Son of God. In addition to his other titles, therefore, the Devil could be called the father of equality.

Congress

Neocons are using the check-bouncing scandal (that didn't cost the taxpayers a dime) to transfer even more power from the legislature, where the people have some influence, to the imperial executive, where they have almost none.

The neocons want us to turn purple over $5 haircuts, when the lowliest member of the president's staff is a potentate. The average Congressman, an elected official, is a nobody in comparison, as any Washington party-giver can testify.

Yes, Congressmen get discounted carwashes. But at least they drive their own cars. When the people demanded it, they closed the House bank and stopped slow-paying at the House restaurant (the late Mickey Leland [D.-Tex.] owed $30,000). But the Sununu affair didn't knock one hubcap off the White House limo armada. ●

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